

AHURA MAZDĀ AND ĀRMAITI, HEAVEN AND EARTH, IN THE OLD AVESTA

PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The two epithets of the Old Iranian supreme god that make up his name, *mazdā* and *ahura*, may refer to his two functions as primordial poet-sacrificer god, who by his divine sacrifice created the ordered cosmos, and as ruler of the universe and father of many of its constituents, respectively. Moreover, as god of heaven he is the father and consort of Ārmaiti, “genius” of the earth, who, when fertilized by heaven in an act of incestuous sexual union, produces her “works” to benefit all living beings.¹

For Stanley
vohū manayhā
haiθiiāuuarəštam hīiač vasnā frašō.təməm

IN THE AVESTA, the principal function of the supreme god, Ahura Mazdā, is the ordering of the cosmos (see Kellens 1989) and the upholding of the cosmic Order,² whose visible aspects are the sun and the sun-lit heavenly spaces, and he is its ruler, as expressed in the *Yasna Haptajhāiti*:³

iθā āč yazamaide ahurəm mazdəm
yā gāmcā ašəmcā dāt
apascā dāt uruuarāscā varj'hiš
raocascā dāt būmimcā vispācā vohū
ahīā xšaθrācā mazdānācā hauuaparjāhāiscā YH.37.1–2

Thus, in this manner we are sacrificing to Ahura
Mazdā,
who put in (their) places both the cow and Order,

(who) put in (their) places both the good waters and
the plants,
(who) put in (their) places both the lights and the earth
and all good (things in between),⁴
by his command and greatness and artisries.

Ahura Mazdā is also said to have engendered the Order of the world as its father (as a rhetorical question in 2.44.3), and, as an artisan, to have fashioned many of its elements (2.44.5). Finally, in the function of divine poet-sacrificer,⁵ he brought forth by his thought the

⁴ Cf. Yašt 13.153 *imamca zām yazamaide aomca asmanəm yazamaide tāca vohū yazamaide yā aṇtarəstā* “And we sacrifice to this earth, and we sacrifice to yonder sky, and we sacrifice to the good things that are in between” (Kellens-Pirart III: 140).

⁵ Ahura Mazdā is a sacrificing god in the Pahlavi writings, e.g., *Bundahišn* 3.20 *Ohrmazd abāg amahrspandān pad Rabihwin* <gāh> *mēnōy i yazišn frāz *sāxt andar yazišn kunišn dām hamāg bē dād* “At Midday Ohrmazd with the immortal gods prepared the spirit of the sacrifice. During the performance of the sacrifice the entire ‘creation’ was established” (see also Molé 1963: 126–32). The Old Avestan poet-sacrificer’s sacrifice of his own life breath and bones perhaps follows the example of the primeval man, whom god sacrificed to create the world, or even that of god himself as primeval sacrificer and victim, like the Old Norse god Óðinn, who sacrificed himself to himself (*Hávamál* 138–40).

¹ My thanks to the volume editors for providing helpful remarks in general and for keeping an eye on my Rigveda translations in particular.

² See Skjærø (2003) for a discussion of what I think are the fallacies in Lüders’ (1951) arguments for translating Old Indic *rta*- and Avestan *aša*- as “truth” rather than as “(cosmic/social/ritual/poetic) order.” See also Duchesne-Guillemen 1962: 194–96.

³ The numbers preceding the *hāiti* (sections of a *Gāθā*) numbers identify the five *Gāθās*: 1 = *Ahunauuaiti Gāθā* (*Yasna* 27.13, 28–34), 2 = *Uštauuaiti G.* (*Yasna* 43–46), 3 = *Spəṇtā-maniiū G.* (*Yasna* 47–50), 4 = *Vohuxšaθrā G.* (*Yasna* 51), and 5 = *Vahištōišti G.* (*Yasna* 53, 54.1); YH = *Yasna Haptajhāiti*.

cosmic Order:⁶ 1.31.19 *yā̄ māṇtā ašəm* “(He) who (first) thought Order” (cf. Skjærøvø forthcoming).

I believe the two epithets, *ahura-* and *mazdā-*, which make up his name—in the same way that the three epithets of the heavenly river: *arəduui- sūrā- anāhitā-* “the lofty, life-giving, unattached/unblemished (heavenly water),” also constitute her name—may refer to the two functions of ruler and engenderer versus poet-sacrificer.

In the same way that Ahura Mazdā is associated with heaven both in the Zoroastrian myth and in the later dialects, e.g., Khotanese *urmaysde* “sun,” his daughter-consort Ārmaiti is associated with the earth, both in the Zoroastrian myth and in the dialects (see below).

AHURA MAZDĀ, GOD OF HEAVEN

In the *Old Avesta* the two epithets of the supreme god are still independent, although either of them is likely to be followed by the other in the same strophe. Two Old Avestan strophes appear to “define” the epithets (cf. Nyberg 1937: 108):

*mazdā sax'ārā̄ mairištō yā̄ zī vāuuərəzō̄i pairi.ciθī̄
daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā yācā varəšaītē aipi.ciθī̄
huuō̄ vicirō̄ ahurō̄ abā nā̄ aŋhač yaθā̄ huuō̄ vasat̄* 1.29.4

“Mazdā” (is) he who remembers best the *verses.⁷
For (those that have been performed till now—
whenever (it may have been)—
by *daēuuas* and men, as well as (those) that will be
performed hereafter—whenever (it will be)⁸—

⁶ Ohrmazd “thinks” the creation in *Bdh.* 1.19: *u-š nazdist dahišn xwadā-dād nēk-rawišnih ān mēnōy i-š tan i xwēš padīš weh bē kerd ka-š dahišnih menid* “And his first creation was *self-established well-being (Avestan *uštatāt*), that spirit by which he made his body better when he thought the creation.” The abolition of chaos by thinking Order is paralleled by YHWH’s abolition of chaos by speaking (forth) the lights. The difference between the two may be that Ahura Mazdā had no audience, while YHWH perhaps had one (cf. Levenson 1988: 5, 158 n. 14).

⁷ Cf. RV *sákvan-*, f. *sákvari-* “clever, artful,” type of verse in *Rigveda* 7.33.4, 10.71.11 *sákvarīṣu* “in Ś. verses,” and Middle/Modern Persian *saxwan/soxan* “word, speech.” The word has been explained in various ways.

⁸ Thus, assuming *°ciθī̄* is for *°ciθi* + *ī*. If *pairi.ciθī̄* and *aipi.ciθī̄* are verbal forms, then they must mean “may he point out(?) (those) now” and “may he point out(?) hereafter.” The zero grades in *°ciθī̄* would be caused by a retraction of the accent onto the preverb; cf. nominal formations such as *fra-xnu-* beside *zānu-*. A very different analysis of this strophe in Insler 1975.

*he, the “Ahura,” (is) the one who discriminates
(between them = passes judgment on them).⁹ It shall
be for us in the way that *he* shall wish!*

*at̄ frauuaxštiā aŋhēuš ahīā vahištəm
ašāt̄ hacā mazdā vaēdā yā̄ im dāt̄
ptarəm vāŋhēuš varəšaītō̄ manarhō̄
at̄ hō̄ī dugədā hušitaoθanā̄ ārmaitiš
nōit̄ diþzaidiiā̄ vispā hišas ahurō̄* 2.45.4

Thus, I shall proclaim the *best* (announcement) of
(= about?) this *ahu*
in accordance with Order: “Mazdā” (is he who) knows
(him) who established it
(to be) the father of the good thought which
invigorates (you),
but his daughter (is) Ārmaiti of good actions/works.
The “Ahura” (is he) who *keeps an eye on all (things)
for (them) not to be deceived.

According to my translation, Ahura Mazdā is he who keeps track of all statements ever (notably, ritual poems) and passes judgment on them, as well as he who protects his creatures against the forces of evil and his Ordered cosmos against the chaos of the Lie, the cosmic deception that wishes to lead his creatures astray. Thus, the epithets of the supreme deity refer to a double function: politico-legal and poetic-sacral.¹⁰ It is as the supreme, cosmic *ruler* that he, like the Achaemenid king, ensures peace and prosperity for the world, and it is in his capacity as supreme poet-sacrificer that he judges the output of poet-sacrificers in this world to see if they are competent and guarantees their fees and livelihood.

⁹ Syntactic analysis after Kellens 1995: 355 (Kellens supplies “activité rituelle” as object of *vicirō̄*), but I assume that if *sax'ārā̄* refers to a kind of utterance, we have the metaphor of “making (working) poems” (cf. 2.45.3 *yōī im vā̄ nōit̄ iθā̄ māθrəm varəšənti* “(those) of you who shall *not* perform/produce (it) in this way, the poetic thought”), paralleled by Old Norse *yrkja* (specialized in the meanings of making poems or “working” the earth, as in Avestan, but not in other old Germanic languages), with or without direct object, “make (poems)”: *yrkja kvæði* (*vísu, lof, nið*) “compose a (long/short) poem, a poem of praise/blame,” *hann orti vel* “he composed well,” *yrkjast á* “compose at one another” (in the poetic contest); already Runic: *worahtō̄* “I composed (it)” on the Tune stone, *wurte runoR* on the Tjurkö bracteate (Grønvik 1981: 148–61, 160). Insler assumes that the forms *vāuuərəzō̄i* and *varəšaītē* are transitive and mean “to bring about,” but the transitive middle forms of this verb are more easily interpreted with “dynamic” middle function, that is, “produce something for oneself, produce one’s own.”

¹⁰ Cf. Benveniste 1969, 2: 15.

The same two functions (or, at least the poetic formulas), we may note, devolve upon the Rigvedic Varuṇa, for instance in *Rigveda* 1.25.20, where he is said to be the one “who pays attention” and also “rules over all heaven and earth” (*tvāṁ viśvasya medhira divás ca gmás ca rājasi*), and Indra is similarly characterized in *Rigveda* 4.16.2: “a thought-poem for him who has taken notice (and so knows), the asurian one” (*cikitúše asuryāyā mánma*).

Other Old Avestan passages where this dichotomy is (more or less) apparent are the following:

... *ərəuuāiš tū uxðaiš mazdā zaraθuštrāi aojōñhuuaṭ rafənō ahmaibiiācā ahurā yā daibišuuatō duuaēšā tauruuaiāma* 1.28.6

... Through (your, or: on account of his) capacious¹¹ utterances, (you gave,) O Mazdā, support with strength to Zarathustra.
(Give) us, too, O Ahura, support by which we shall overcome the hostilities of the hostile one.

aṭ ḥβā mējhi paouruuim mazdā yazūm stōi manayhā vayhēuš patarōm manayhō hīaṭ ḥβā hēm cašmainī hēngrabəm haiθim ašahiiā dāmīm aŋhēuš ahurəm ſhiaθanaešū 1.31.8

Thus, I (now) think with (my) thought of *you* (as being) the first, O Mazdā, (yet) youthful father of good thought—since I have grasped *you* in (my) eye
(as) the true *dāmī* of Order (and seen you) in the actions/works of this *ahu* (as) the Ahura.

In 1.28.6 he is invoked as Mazdā in connection with Zarathustra, the first (human) poet-sacrificer (see Skjærvø 2002a), and as Ahura for his martial capacity, while in 1.31.8 he is Mazdā in connection with good thought, the poet-sacrificers' most treasured possession (see Skjærvø forthcoming), and as Ahura in the context of maintaining the cosmic Order, which requires his royal command, not mentioned here, but commonly elsewhere in this context.

Mazdā in the context of poetry is also seen in 1.34.15 *mazdā aṭ mōi vahištā srauuāscā ſhiaθanācā vaocā* “O Mazdā, thus say my poems conferring fame (and my actions/works (are) the best!” and

ahiiā maniiēuš spēništahiiā vahištəm hizuuā uxðaiš vayhēuš ūəānū manayhō

ārmatōiš zastōbiiā ſhiaθanā vərəziiat ūiiā cisti huuō ptā ašahiiā mazdā 3.47.2

(For) he produces the best of this most life-giving inspiration
by the utterances of (his) good thought (to be sped)
along by (his) tongue,¹²
(and) the actions/works of Ārmaiti by (his) hands,
through this understanding: He there (is) the father of
Order: Mazdā.

Ahura in martial context is also seen in 1.29.2 *kēm hōi uštā ahurām yā draguūō dəbiš aēšəmam vādāiiōi* “Whom do you (all) wish (to be) an Ahura for her, (someone) who may push back, together with those possessed by the Lie, (their) wrath?”, 1.29.10 *yūžəm aēibiiō ahurā aogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmcā / auuaṭ . . .* “You (all), O Ahura, shall (now) establish for *these*, on account of the Order (of my ritual?), strength, as well as (for yourself?) *yonder command*.” In the following strophe Ahura is in martial context (being asked to deal with failed poet-sacrificers and other evil ones) and Mazdā in the context of caring for the poor:

. . . kū ašauuā ahurō yā iš jiiātəuš həmiθiiāt vasə.iūōišcā taṭ mazdā tauuā xšaθrəm yā ərəžəjiiōi dāhi driguūē vahiiō 5.53.9

... Where (is) an Ahura who sustains Order, who might deprive them of (their) livelihood and freedom to roam?

That, O Mazdā, (is) your command, by which you shall give the better (thing) to the poor living a straight life.

That Ahura Mazdā is also related to the divine Heaven is clear from many details. Thus, he is the father of Ārmaiti, genius of the earth (2.45.4), as well as of Good Thought (1.31.8, 2.45.4), which, I believe, as

¹² Cf. 1.32.16 *əəānū . . . ištiēng* “speedy (words? to be sped) along”(?), 3.50.6 *dātā xratēuš hizuuō raiθim stōi / mahiiā rāzəng voħū sāhīt manayhā* “May the maker of the guiding thought instruct the chariot-horse/charioteer of (this) tongue / of mine (how) to be through my good thought (the chariot-horse) of the straight utterance(?),” and 4.51.3 *ā vā gəuš.ā həmiiāntū yōi nā ſhiaθanāiš sārəntē / ahurō ašā hizuuā uxðaiš vayhēuš manayhō* “Let the Ahura (= the fire) steer up to your ears (the words) which are attaching themselves to our actions, / (up) through Order/by the Order (of my ritual), by the utterances of (my) good thought (sped along) by (my) tongue.” Cf. Old Indic *iṣyā-* + *vācam* (*Rigveda* 9.30.1, 64.9, 25), *rātham* (*Rigveda* 1.34.10).

¹¹ See Skjærvø 1997: 111.

cosmic constituent, may represent the luminous cover of the sky, and of *aša-* (2.44.3, 3.47.2), the cosmic Order that manifests itself in the bright diurnal sky. In the Achaemenid period (ca. 400 B.C.), Herodotus (1.131–32) observed that “the Persians are used to offer sacrifices to Zeus on the top of the highest mountains. They call Zeus the entire vault of heaven.”

The “greatness” of Ahura Mazdā, mentioned in *YH*.37.2 (see above), is matched by that of the Rigvedic and Homeric Fathers of Heaven (cf. Schmitt 1967: 155). It is repeatedly emphasized in the Old Persian inscriptions in the adjective *vazarka-* “great” applied to Ahura-mazdā and the noun *vašnā* “by the greatness” (of Ahuramazdā; see Skjærø 1999: 38–39).

Ahura Mazdā does not seem to be heaven itself, however; this role appears to fall to Good Thought. As I have tried to show elsewhere, the cosmogonic terminology in the Old Avesta indicates that Good Thought is the counterpart of Ārmaiti, the earth (Skjærø forthcoming).

Finally we may note the epithet *vouru.cašāne* “far-seeing” (1.33.13)¹³ matches Old Indic *urucáksan-*, which in the *Rigveda* (7.35.8, 7.63.4) is applied to the (rising) sun (*súrya urucáksā*), and in Greek to Zeus (Gk. *eurú-opā* [Zeus] “far-seeing [Zeus]” Hesychius).

AHURA-

Among the various etymologies that have been proposed for the word *ahura-* (Old Indic *asura-*), one of the more interesting is the one by which the word is derived from an old verb meaning “engender” (Hittite *hašš-/hašš-*) (see Schlerath 1968, Watkins 1995: 8). The concept of the supreme god as the progenitor of heaven and the inhabitants of the universe is also seen in the ancient expression **dīeūs pater* “Father, Heaven,” which survives in Latin Ju(p)piter, etc. (see Schmitt 1967: 149–56), and the reference to supreme deities as “father (of gods and men).” Among the Vedic passages cited by Schmitt (1967), note especially *Rigveda* 10.82.3ab (to Viśvakarman) *yó nah pitā janitā yó vidhātā dhāmāni vēda bhūvanāni viśvā* “He, who is our father, progenitor, (and) arranger, he knows the establishments, all beings”; *Atharvaveda* 2.1.3c *sá nah pitā janitā sá utá bāndhuḥ* “He, our father, progenitor, and he the connection . . .”

If my interpretation of Good Thought also as heaven is correct, then 1.31.8 *vājhāuš patarām manayhō* and

¹³ Regarded by Nyberg (1937: 109) as epithet of the diurnal sky: 1.33.13 *rafaðrāi vourucašānē dōišī mōi yā vā abifrā* “You shall show me (now) for support for the farseeing (sun) the path by which I shall cross over to you.”

2.45.4 *patarām vājhāuš . . . manayhō* may be the Old Avestan poetic transformation of Indo-European **dīeūs pater* “Father Heaven.” With the expression *patarām vājhāuš varzaiiantō manayhō* “the father of the good thought which invigorates (you),”¹⁴ we may even compare *Rigveda* 6.70.6ab *ūrjan̄ no dyaúś ca prthivī ca pinvatām pitā mātā viśavatdā sudāmsasā* “Let heaven and earth make swell for us invigorating strength, the expert¹⁵ father and mother who know all.”

MAZDĀ-

As for *mazdā-*, it is usual today, after numerous studies devoted to the word throughout the history of Avestan studies, to render this epithet of the supreme god as “wise” or, alternately, “Wisdom.” By the latter interpretation *mazdā-* is identified with Old Indic *medhā-*, but this is an action noun meaning “the act of . . .,” while *mazdā-* is an agent noun meaning “he who . . .” The texts themselves show more clearly what the Old Avestan poets themselves associated with the word. Thus, the common verb *māng . . . dā-/mqz-dā-* means to “put (and keep) in the mind, keep mental track of,” and the derived adjective *humazdra-* “who keeps good mental track of, who pays attention to.”¹⁶

In fact, the passages in which the term occurs indicate that it is specifically by “paying attention to, noting in one’s mind” *what is spoken* by or to the poet-sacrificer that one *becomes knowledgeable*, and so *can see* one’s rewards through the returning daylight. In addition, the poet-sacrificer counts on the gods to determine, on the basis of their store of knowledge of precedents, how his own performance asserts itself and stands up to scrutiny.

The Rigvedic term *medhirā-* (< **mñzdhāra-*) is etymologically almost the same as *mazdā-* (< **manzdhāra-*, or both < **manzdhāra-* with *āzdh* > *edh*?) and is used in the same kind of contexts as the Old Avestan terms; cf. *Rigveda* 1.61.4ad *asmā id u stómaṇ sám hinomi . . . īndrāya viśvaminvám médhirāya* “For him I urge on a song of praise . . . which sets all in motion, for Indra,

¹⁴ For the poetic formula cf. *Rigveda* 5.41.18 (to Viśve Devāḥ) *tām vo devāḥ sumatím ūrjáyantim tṣam aśyāma* “This good thought of yours that invigorates, O gods, this strengthening, may we reach it!”

¹⁵ Avestan *dah-* in *dahma-*, etc., seems to denote the *expert* (= completely knowledgeable) and so *qualified* poet-sacrificer.

¹⁶ Kellens-Pirart: “qui a (tout) présent à l’esprit, attentif.” Note *Odyssey* 1.321 *thēke ménos* “she had put ménos (in his thūmós),” with different syntax, but same lexical items (see Nagy 1990: 113).

who pays attention"; *Rigveda* 7.87.4a–c *uváca me várūno médhirāya trīḥ saptá námághnyā bibharti / vidvá padásya gúhyā ná vocat . . .* “Varuṇa said to me, who pay attention: the cow carries three times seven names. The one who knows the foot-print/place/word(?) shall say it like (someone who reveals) secret things.”¹⁷

The importance of thought or memory of the origins as expressed by the root *men in Indo-European poetry is seen in numerous ancient Indo-European languages, not least the Germanic ones (cf. Ford 1992: 36, 108, citing from *Völuspá* and *Beowulf*), and the connection of the supreme god with poetry is seen in Scandinavian mythology, where Óðinn is also god of skaldship.

Finally, I think it is this dual function of Ahura Mazdā that is the target of the *Ahuna vairīia* prayer, after which the *Ahunauuaitī Gāθā* is named and which is, no doubt, its first strophe.¹⁸ On the basis of the discussion above, the stanza may be interpreted as follows:

*yaθā ahū vairīō aθā ratuš aṣāṭcī hacā
vaŋhāuš dazdā mananjō ūiaθanānām aŋ̄huš mazdāi
xšaθrəmcā ahurāi.ā yim drigubiiō dadał vāstārəm*
1.27.13

Inasmuch as (an *ahu*? is) a worthy one¹⁹ by the (example of the first) *ahu*, thus (its) Model (is) just in accordance with Order.

¹⁷ Renou, ÉVP V, 71; VII, 23.

¹⁸ Its free position in the extant text of the *Yasna* can be explained in two ways: (1) it was originally the first stanza of the *Ahunauuaitī Gāθā*, but was detached because of its contents and prominence and became the most effective prayer in all of Old Iranian mythology, or (2) there was already a tradition of the efficacy of this prayer, which was therefore (adapted) and attached to the *Ahunauuaitī Gāθā* as its opening stanza. From the point of view of composition, the first alternative must be preferred: the other *Gāθās* all begin with a generic and compact statement that sets the tone for the rest of the *Gāθā*. Note also that each of the five *Gāθās* (Avestan *panca gāθā*) is preceded and followed by praises and invocations, as well as their smaller constituents, the *hātis*. It is therefore quite possible that the introductory strophe of the entire *Old Avesta* was preceded and followed by a separate set of praises and invocations, which eventually separated it from the next strophe (1.28.1), as also happened in the case of the *Ā airīiāmā išiiō* prayer, *Yasna* 54.1, which forms the concluding strophe of the *Vahištōišti Gāθā* (5.53).

¹⁹ The meaning of *vairīia-*, Old Indic *várya-*, as deduced from the texts, is in the semantic sphere of “worthy, appropriate, matching, well-deserved” as exchange gift. Thus, it would be similar to Gk. *áksios* “appropriate (gift),” “match (for an

(The Model)²⁰ of good thought²¹ (and) of the works of the (first/new) *ahu*²² is (always) established for (him who is) Mazdā “Memorizer,” and the (royal) command (is always assigned) to (him who is) Ahura “reigning Lord,” whom one shall (thereby) establish²³ (as) pastor for the poor.

Thus the stanza is a credo by which the poet-sacrificer’s model for his good thought and actions is referred to God as *mazdā*, and the sovereign command, resulting from the successful sacrifices of both, is referred to him as *ahura*. Then, by his good thought and actions, Ahura Mazdā can perform the divine cosmic sacrifice designed to revitalize heaven and earth and her actions, and by his royal command he is able to ensure peace and pasture and general well-being.

ĀRMAITI, GENIUS OF THE EARTH

While Ahura Mazdā is thus revealed as the ruler and progenitor of his Ordered cosmos, as far as humans are concerned these qualities are manifested in their effects on their life on earth, which carries them; cf. YH.38.1 *imām āał zām . . . yazamaidē yā nā baraiti* “Thus, we are offering up in sacrifice . . . this earth which is carrying us.” But the earth by her actions/works also produces the good things on earth which Ahura Mazdā engenders, and so the two are their parents.

The word *ārmaiti-* (Old Indic *arāmati-*) is commonly derived from the verb *arām man-* “thinking in correct measure, balanced thinking,” as opposed to “too much” or “too little,” which is *tarō maiti-* (*tarō man-*) “thinking beyond its measure,” especially “think (too) little (about),

enemy).” Nowhere is there any indication that the word is used as a verbal form, a gerundive “that ought to be chosen.” There are no Old Avestan examples of a masc. noun qualified as *vairīia-*, and assuming a gapped *aŋ̄huš*, inherent in *ahū*, seems the best solution. The interpretation of *ahū* as nom. sing. = *aŋ̄huš* (as also in the later Zoroastrian tradition) is ad hoc.

²⁰ Or: the garment of good thought: *vastrəm*, echoed in *dadał vāstārəm* and “rhyming” with *xšaθrəm*?

²¹ Note that the terms “actions” and “good thought” may implicitly refer to the beneficial “works” of Ārmaiti = the earth, and the beneficial sky, respectively, see above and Skjærvø forthcoming.

²² Cf. 2.43.6 cited below. Or does *mazdāi* govern *šiiaoθanām*: “Mazdā ‘Memorizer’ of the actions of (the first) *ahu*?”

²³ I take *dadał* to be 3 sg. subj.; it could also be 3 pl. inj.: “whom they (= one) (always) make . . . ”

scorn" (see Skjærø 2002b). This meaning is not, however, evident in the texts themselves, where Ārmaiti is personified as a deity, the daughter of Ahura Mazdā. In fact, since the connection between *ārmaiti-* and *nam-* "bend in reverence/homage" is quite strong,²⁴ "(wifely) humility, submission" (from Lat. *humilis* < *humus* "earth, ground") may be closer to the inherent idea and thus provide a perfect match for her wise lord and husband, father of her children. Their relationship is graphically described in 3.47.1 *mazdā xšaθrā ārmaiti ahurō* "By (his/my) command Mazdā (together?) with Ārmaiti (or: throughout the earth?) (is) the Ahura," where Ārmaiti is snugly ensconced between Ahura Mazdā's two components, safely guarded by his royal command.

In Old Indic, according to Renou (*ÉVP* I, 1–2), *arāmati-* is literally "thought put in correct form, thought ready (for the poetic games)" but also a deity. Here, its "abstract" meaning is therefore closely connected with poems and poetry. This connection is perhaps also inherent in her Old Avestan epithet *bərəxšā-*,²⁵ although we do not know its exact meaning:

yōi spəṇṭām ārmaitīm ḡbahiiā mazdā bərəxšām vīdušō
duš.śīaoθanā auuazacał vanjhōuš əuuisti
manayhō . . . 1.34.9

(Those) who *let down life-giving Ārmaiti—
*esteemed, O Mazdā, by your "knower"—
those of bad actions/works, on account of not finding
good thought . . .

²⁴ See 3.49.10 *nāmascā yā ārmaitiš* "and the reverence on account of which Ārmaiti (is present)" or: ". . . which Ārmaiti (is) with"; *Yasna* 58.1 *hīał nāmā huciθrām ašíš.hāgət ārmaitiš.hāgət* "which is the reverence of good seed/splendor(?) that follows Aši, that follows Ārmati"; and cf. *Rigveda* 5.43.6, 7.42.3, 7.43.1, 10.82.1.

²⁵ Also 2.44.7 *kā bərəxšām tāšt . . . ārmaitīm* "Who fashions Ārmaiti, the *esteemed one?" and probably 3.48.6 *bərəxšē* "O *esteemed one." The word is probably the part. nec. of *bərəj-aia-*, the meaning of which may be in the semantic sphere of "praise," cf. Khotanese *bulj-* "praise." The Avestan root must be from **b(h)argh* with Indo-European *gh* or *gʷh*, not **b(h)arj-* with *gh*. These words may be further connected with Old Indic *brh-*, *barhaṇā-* (perhaps also *brahman-*), the meaning of which is also not quite clear; it seems to be in the range of "strengthening," but also connected with thought and speech (*Rigveda* 1.54.5c, 6.26.5a, 6.44.6a, 9.10.4a), and is probably different from *barh* = Avestan *barz-* "high." Perhaps we should compare Old Norse *bragr* "making poetry" and *Bragi*, god of poetry (see Mayrhofer, *EWA* II, 212–13; Grønvik 1981: 219–20, with refs.).

Ārmaiti is both Ahura Mazdā's daughter and the Earth, both in the Old Avestan texts and in the later Avestan texts, as well as in several other Old Iranian mythologies (Persian, Sogdian, Khotanese).²⁶ She is therefore the counterpart of heaven ~ Good Thought, and this couple therefore corresponds loosely to the Old Indic couple *dyāvā-prthivī*.²⁷ The connection of *arāmati-* with the earth is also transparent in a Rigvedic passage:²⁸ *Rigveda* 10.92.5ab *prá rudréṇa yayínā yanti síndhavas tirō mahím arāmatiṁ dadhanvire* "The streams go forth with speeding Rudra. They have spread out flowing all over great Arāmati"; cf. *Rigveda* 10.49.9ab *ahám saptā sravátō dhārayaṃ vṛṣā dravitnvāḥ prthivyām sirā ádhī* "I, the bull, hold (in their courses) the seven streams, the waters which flow over the earth."

As the earth (goddess) Ārmaiti purifies mortal women after birth:

vanjhuiā cistōiš śīaoθanāiš ārmaitē
yaoždā mašiiā²⁹ aipī zqθəm . . . 3.48.5

²⁶ Cf. Nyberg 1937: 122–23, referring to 3.48.5, 6, 11; 3.47.3; 2.46.12; Molé 1963: 19 (referred to in Kellens 1994: 137): "Ārmaiti est déesse de la terre et de la fécondité et, en tant que telle, fait croître l'empire impérissable pour les Entités"; Benveniste 1969, II; 182: "C'est donc bien en tant qu'ancienne divinité du sol que *Spandaramet* s'est trouvé transféré en arménien au rôle de Dionysos comme dieu de la fertilité." In Khotanese, *śśandrāmatā-* < proto-Khotanese **ćuantā-* *ārmati-* is identified with the Buddhist Śrī as goddess of the earth (see Skjærø 1998: 653), while the word for "earth" is *śśandaā-* from **ćuantakā-*, originally perhaps an (independent) epithet of Ārmaiti-.

²⁷ Note that the word *diiau-* has all but disappeared from Old Iranian. Its only occurrence is, significantly, in *Yašt* 3.13 to *Ašəm Vahištəm* "Best Order," where, in a sequence of magical, apotropaic spells, we are told how *Ašəm Vahištəm* first smote the Evil Spirit, who "fell headlong from heaven" (*paourua. naēmāt̄ patał diiaoš*).

²⁸ Molé (1963: 171) also cites *Rigveda* 5.43.6, see below.

²⁹ The reading *mašiiā* is found in two branches of the *Pahlavi Yasna* MSS (Persian *Pahlavi Yasna*: *mašiiā*; Sanskrit *Yasna*: *mašiiā*), against the Indian *Pahlavi Yasna* (*mašiiā*) and Persian *Videvdad Sadeh* (*mašiiā* Mf2); the reading *mašiiāi* (*mašiiāi*) is obviously later (Persian *Videvdad Sadeh*: Jpl, K4; *Yasna Sadeh*, Indian *Videvdad Sadeh*). It is true that the ending -ā could be explained as perseveration from the preceding *yaoždā*, but it would still be a remarkable error for the straightforward *mašiiā*. The fact that readings other than *mašiiā* have failed to provide a satisfactory interpretation of the strophe also does not speak in their favor. (Insler reads *ārmaiti* with Jpl, the jun-

... By the actions/works of (my/your?) good understanding, O Ārmaiti, you make mortal women (ritually) pure after birth.

And, when the right person is in command, by her “works” (*śiiaoθna-*) she provides all things needed for the well-being of men and cattle, like the “works” of Demeter (see below):

*... yehīā śiiaoθanāiš gaēθā aṣā frādəṇtē
aēibiiō ratūš sənghaiti ārmaitiš
θbahīā xratūš yəm naēciš dābaietī* 2.43.6

... (he) by whose actions/works the herds are being furthered through Order.

For these (actions/works) Ārmaiti is announcing the models of your guiding thought, whom/which no one can make deceiving.

aṣəm śiiaoθanāiš dəbəzaiti ārmaitiš . . . 2.44.6

(. . . then, clearly, it is) on account of (our) actions/by (her) works (that) Ārmaiti is (currently) *thickening Order³⁰ . . .

*. . . tām daēnqm yā hātām vahisṭā
yā mōi gaēθā aṣā frādōit hacəmnā
ārmatōiš uxđāiš śiiaoθanā ərəš dāidiiat
maxiā cistōiš θbā ištiš usən mazdā* 2.44.10

... the vision-soul which (is) the best of those that are, which, being with Order, may further my herds: shall (she) “see” correctly the actions/works of (my) Ārmaiti through the utterances of my understanding: “The sacrifice (performed) by you (succeeds?) as (you) will, O Mazdā.”

2.45.4, 3.47.2, see above.

*ārmatōiš nā spəntō huuō cistī uxđāiš śiiaoθanā
daēnā aṣəm spənuuaṭ vohū xšaθrəm manayhā
maxdā dadāt ahurō tōm vay'him yāsā aṣim* 4.51.21

This one (is now) a life-giving man by the understanding: “By (my) utterances (are produced) the actions/works of Ārmaiti;

ior member of the Persian *Videvdad Sadeh* [against Mf2]; he also interprets the common *zəθəm* “birth” as containing *zam-* “earth”: **api.zam-θam* “on earth.”) Avestan *mašiā-* “mortal woman” would be the ancestor of Pahlavi *mašyāni*, wife of *maši*, the first mortal man. Note that this and adjacent strophes contain what is basically the poet-sacrificer’s secret (*gūzra-* “hidden”) knowledge about the universe.

³⁰ The image may be that of a weaver *packing* in the weft, see Skjærvø forthcoming.

by (my) vision-soul Order (is again) full of vitality; by (my) good thought Mazdā Ahura establishes (his) command.”—(So now) I am asking him for a good reward.

When darkness and the forces of evil take over, obviously the sky and Order are obscured and cannot be seen from the earth, which trembles *in fear*:

*vayhāuš xšaθrā manayhō aṣā maṭ ārmaitiš vaxšt
utaiiūti təuuisi tāiš ā mazdā viduuaēšqm θbōi.ahī*
1.34.11

... (Through) the command of (= provided by) (my) good thought, Ārmaiti, together with Order, has (now) grown in youthfulness (and) strength. Through those (gifts), here, O Mazdā, (you make) her free from hostilities (when) in fear(?).

If the interpretation of *θbōi.ahī* from **θbaiiah-* “fear,”³¹ is correct, then we may have an allusion to the attack of the Aggressor, at which the earth trembled (or sim.) in fear: *Bundahišn* 6.27, 29: *čiyōn Ganāg Mēnōy andar dwārist zamig bē *wizandid ān gōhr i kōf i andar zamig dād estād pad wizandiš ham zamān kōf o rawišn estād . . . pas az ān zamig . . . čandēnidan nē šahist* “When the Evil Spirit rushed in, the earth trembled. That substance of the mountains that had been placed in the earth by the tremor—at the same time the mountains started to move. [Then the mountains are made.] After that, the earth was no longer able to tremble.” In Manicheism, learning of the imminent attack by Darkness, the Five Greatnesses of the World of Light (including the Light Earth, Sogdian *Zāy Spandārmat*) “trembled” (Bar Khonai, in Jackson 1932: 224). In India, both worlds (*rodasī*, *krandasī*) are often depicted as being in fear (*bhi-*), trembling and shaking. The earth trembles beneath the ride of the Maruts (*Rigveda* 1.37.8, 87.3; 5.60.2), as well as heaven (*Rigveda* 5.60.3), and before the might (*Rigveda* 8.97.14) and *manyu* of Indra (*Rigveda* 1.80.11; 4.17.2, 10).

Only through the worshipper’s contribution can Ārmaiti, the earth, again see Order, the sun-lit sky, and, now *at peace*, her works can again benefit mankind.

³¹ Rather than as a verb **θbaiiahī* “you fear”; cf. Young Avestan *θbaiiah-* in *θbaiiaŋhānt-* (*Yašt* 13.20, epithet of roads, with *dužita-* “difficult to go”), *θbaiqastəma-* (*Videvdad* 2.23, epithet of highest mountains and deepest rivers); the connection with Sogdian *δβy-*, in *wyδβy-*, etc. (Gershevitch, [1961] §293), must be rejected in view of Manichean Parthian *wydby'g* (*widbayāg*) “extensive,” which shows that the stem of this word is **d̥uaj-*, not **θuaj-* (cf. Parthian *nidfār-* “hurry” < **ni-θuār-*).

*astuuat ašem xiiāt uštānā aojōyhuuat
xv̄ēng darasōi xšaθrōi xiiāt ārmaitiš
ašim šiiaoθanāiš vohū daidit manajhā* 2.43.16

May Order have bones through (my/his) life breath
(and be) strong!
May Ārmaiti be in command (and) in (full) sight of the
sun!³²
May she on account of (my) actions/by (her) works
give (me my) reward for (my) good thought!

It is in fact the revitalization of Order and Ārmaiti that is the purpose of the Old Avestan ritual. Order produces the heavenly elements needed for *growth*, and Ārmaiti receives them and produces living things, notably *pasture* for the cow, and thus ensures *peace* (Herrenschmidt 1991: 19):

*ahiiā maniišuš tuušm ahī tā spəntō
yā ahmāi ḡam rāniitō. skərāitim hām.tašaſ
aſ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitim
hiiāt hām vohū mazdā hām.fraſtā manajhā* 3.47.3

You are (also the father?) of (or? belong to?) this
inspiration—(being) life-giving through it—
you who fashioned together the pleasure-giving cow
for this one.
Thus, for him you now establish Ārmaiti (as) peace for
(his) pasture
when he has consulted, O Mazdā, (his) good thought.

In the ritual sphere, therefore, just as the ritual Order matches the divine Order, we would expect a match also for Ārmaiti, which is probably the ritual ground, toward which the sacrificer bends (*nāmah-*) with *ārmaiti-* “humility.” In fact, according to the Pahlavi texts, the ritual ground as microcosmos represents the entire earth, with the positions of the seven priests corresponding to the seven continents (see Molé 1963: 121).

Because of this ambiguity inherent in the term, we should then expect the mention of Ārmaiti to refer both to the poet-sacrificer’s state of mind and the disposition of the ritual. The following strophes may contain such references:

³² Cf. 1.32.13 *yā iš pāt̄ darasāt̄ ašahiiā* “which shall keep them from the sight of Order.” Rigvedic *svardjś-* “having the sight of the sun,” cf. Kuiper 1960: 220. Cf. *Rigveda* 3.30.13 (to Indra) *dīdṛkṣanta uṣāso yāmann aktōr vivāsvat� máhi citrám ánikam* “They desire to see the great, splendid face of dawn as she shines out from darkness at (her) coming.” See also Kellens-Pirart III: 169.

*aēbiō mazdā ahurō sārəmnō vohū manajhā
xšaθrāt̄ hacā paiti.mraoſ ašā huš.haxā xv̄ēnuuātā
spənt̄am vā ārmaitim vaȳhīm varəmaidi hā nā aŋhat̄*
1.32.2

These (ones here) Mazdā Ahura, who sides with
(someone of) good thought,
answers by virtue of (his) command (as) a good
companion of Order which contains the sun:
“We have chosen your life-giving Ārmaiti, the good
one. She shall belong to us.”

2.44.10, see above.

From the above, we see that the “works” of Ārmaiti strongly recall Hesiod’s “works,” on which see Vernant (1996: 277): “La terre d’Hésiode est terre de labour. Le même mot *érga* désigne en grec le champ et le travail. De cette terre cultivée, par opposition à la terre sauvage ou simplement féconde, Déméter est la divinité. Dans la représentation de ce pouvoir divin, il y a toujours un plan qui se réfère à l’activité, à l’effort humain. On dit: les travaux de Déméter.” Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 467–73 (Rhea speaking to Demeter): “[But come, my child,] and be not too angry unrelentingly with the dark-clouded Son of Cronos; but rather increase forthwith for men the fruit that gives them life” (translation after Loeb edition).

According to Hesiod’s *Theogony* (912–13), Zeus bedded “all-nourishing (*poluphōrbē*) Demeter,” who then bore him Persephone. The myth of Demeter and Persephone found its way into the Iranian culture sphere and, in Armenian, *Spandaramet* is “Dionysus” (as fertility god), and the adjective *sandaramet-* means “chthonic,” presumably with reference to the realm of Persephone.

Among the more arcane mysteries of Order and Ārmaiti is the concept of the structure of the cosmos, perhaps in the form of a great loom on which Order is woven by the poet-sacrificer’s good thought, with Ārmaiti as the weaver(ess) packing in the weft of the web of good thought held up by Ahura Mazdā (2.44.6 *ašem šiiaoθanāiš dəbəzaiti ārmaitiš* “by (her) actions/works Ārmaiti is (now) thickening Order”; see Skjærvø forthcoming).

In later Zoroastrianism, Ārmaiti is both the daughter and wife of Ahura Mazdā, by whom she is made fertile. The origin of the myth of a sexual relationship between Ahura Mazdā and Ārmaiti, the earth, is no doubt that of heaven lying upon the earth, which led to the sexual interpretation found in many religions, e.g., Old Indic (cf. Keith 1925: 77, and especially 80): “The parent *par excellence* is Dyaus, and earth also is the mother of the many things she bears. Sky and earth too are universal

parents: the sky fertilizes the earth, and again both produce life in the world, the one by the gift of rain, the other through providing food." The sexual act between Heaven and his daughter (Earth, Dawn?) is also described in the *Rigveda*, e.g., 1.71.5 (to Agni) *sváyām devó duhitári tvíṣīm dhāt* "The god placed the shimmering seed in his own daughter."

As mother of all living beings dwelling upon her, the earth is also depicted as the carrier of everything: *YH.38.1 imām āaṭ zām gənābiš haθrā yazamaidē yā nā baraiti* "Thus, we are offering up in sacrifice together with (its) women this earth which is carrying us." Similarly, in *Videvdad* 2.10 (etc.), it is Ārmaiti who is said to be the carrier of all living beings. The Rigvedic goddess Bhāratī-, also with the epithet *mahi-*, may, originally, be an aspect of the same goddess, probably that of the earth that carries everything upon her; cf. *Rigveda* 1.22.10 *ā gnā agna ihávase hótrām yaviṣṭha bháratim / várūtrīm dhiṣánām vaha* "O Agni, (convey) hither the women for help, O youngest one: Hotrā, Bhāratī, Varutri, Dhiṣanā"; cf. *Rigveda* 5.43.6ab, in which *arámati* is clearly a deity: *ā no mahím arámatis sajósā gnám devím námasā rātāhavyām* "(Convey) hither to us the great Aramati, (you who are) of the same taste, the divine woman, the goddess, in homage (to whom) the oblation is offered!" Note also the use of the plural, paralleled in Old Indic, in *YH.38.2*:

*ižā yaoštaiiō f̄raštaiiō ārmataiiō
vanj'him ābiš ašim vanj'him išəm
vanj'him āzūtīm vanj'him frasastīm
vanj'him parəndīm yazamaidē*

The milk offerings, the purifications, the

Juicifications,³³ the Ārmaitis—
the good reward on account of these,
the good invigoration, the good fat oblation,
the good fame, the good fecundity we are offering up
in sacrifice.

With this compare *Rigveda* 3.4.8 *ā bháratī bháratibhiḥ sajósā ilā devafr manusyébhīr agnī / sárasvatī sárasvatébhīr arvák* "Hither Bhāratī of the same taste as the Bhāratīs, Ilā (of the same taste) as the gods. Agni (of the same taste) as mortal men, Sarasvatī (of the same taste) as the Sārasvatas!" and *Rigveda* 2.31.4b–d *tváṣṭā gnábhiḥ sajósā jūjuvad rátham / ilā bhágō bṛhaddivótá ródasi*

³³ Since one of the goals of the sacrifice is to make Order "full of swelling" (4.51.21: *ašəm spənuuat*), I assume *fraša-* (if connected with Old Indic *pṛkṣ-* and if this is "liquid strengthening" of some sort) means "full of the juices of life and vitality."

pūśā púramdhir ásvínāv ádhā pátī "Tvastṛ, of the same taste as the (divine) women, shall speed the chariot along, (as also will) Ilā, Bhaga, Bṛhaddivā, and the two Worlds, Pūsan, Puramdhī, the Aśvins, then the two masters."

There are, finally, a few interesting parallels with Aditi: *Rigveda* 1.136.3 *jyótiṣmatīm áditīm dhārayátkṣitīm svārvatīm* "The resplendent Aditi, who upholds (good) dwellings, who is full of sun." And with 1.32.2 *spəntām və ārmaitīm vanj'him varəmaidī hā nā aŋhaṭ* "We have chosen your life-giving Ārmaiti, the good one. She shall belong to us," compare *Rigveda* 10.100 (refrain) *ā sarvátātīm áditim vrṇimāhe* "we choose for ourselves wholeness and *aditi*."³⁴

With all this compare from Hesiod's *Theogony* 176: "And great heaven (Ouranós) came, bringing on night; and, lusting for love, he lay around the earth, stretching himself upon her in all directions"; and *Theogony* 132–33, where Earth lies with Heaven, after which she bears Ōkeanos, Kronos, and numerous other "unfinished" beings. We may recall here the Rigvedic myth of *mārtāṇḍa*, last of Aditi's sons, and the Zoroastrian myth in the *Pahlavi Rivayat* (43.36) that Gayōmard was born from Spandarmad, the earth.³⁵

When Ahura Mazdā's royal Command (*xšabtra-*), by the agency of the sacrifice, is (re)established in heaven, Heaven presumably releases its fertilizing fluids, and the sun spreads its light and warmth throughout the world; then Ārmaiti produces her works on earth, providing fertility, growth, and prosperity for men and animals (1.34.11; 2.46.12, 16; 3.47.1, 49.5; 4.51.4, 20–21). Note especially:

. . . *kuθrā yasō. xiišn ašəm kū spəntā ārmaitiš
kuθrā manō vahištəm kuθrā θβā xšaθrā mazdā*
Y. 4.51.4

³⁴ Note also that in Iranian cosmology the earth is said to be suspended in the middle of the cosmos *unattached*; cf. *Bundahišn* 34.5 *ud ka-iz-im zamīg dād kē hamāg axw i astōmand barēd u-š abar dāštārih i gētiy nēst* "and also when I established the earth, which carries the entire bony existence, it too had nothing in the world of the living to hold it up." This recalls the etymology of *áditi-* "having no bonds" from *dā-* "bind." Brereton (1981: 196) concludes from the etymology that it means "boundlessness" (and, further, "blamelessness, innocence") rather than "bondlessness," but if that is the meaning I believe it must be secondary.

³⁵ Cf. the foundation legend of Khotan, according to which the founder of Khotan was the son of Vaiśramaṇa and suckled by the earth (Sanskrit *Śrī*, Khotanese *Śśandrāmatā-*); Skjærvø 1998: 653, 656.

. . . Where (is) Order which brings glory? Where (is)
life-giving Ārmaiti?
Where (is) best thought? Where (will you come?) with
your command, O Mazdā?

Compare *Rigveda* 6.50.3 (to Viśve Devāḥ):

*utá dyāvāpythivī kṣatrám urū
bṛhád rodasi śaranām susumne
mahás karatho várivo yáthā no
'smé kṣayāya dhiṣane aneháh*

And broad, O Heaven and Earth, (is your area of)
command and high, O you two worlds, (your)
protection, O you well-disposed ones!
You will make a great expanse so that we will have³⁶
absence of harm for us (and our) dwelling, O you
two powers that put everything in its place(?)!

and *Rigveda* 6.67.6 (to Mitra, Varuṇa):

*tá hí kṣatrám dhārāyethe ánu dyún
dṛṁhēthe sánūm upamád iva dyóh
dṛlhó nákṣatra utá viśvádevo
bhúmim átān dyām dhāsīnāyóh*

For as such you two maintain the command day after
day; you two hold firm the back of heaven as if from
above it.
(Thus) held firm, the heavenly body too, belonging to
all the gods, has stretched out hither earth (and)
heaven by their *dhāsī*.

and, emphasizing the role of the command of the poet-
sacrificer, *Rigveda* 1.160.5 (to Heaven and Earth):

*té no gr̄nānē mahinī máhi śrávah
kṣatrám dyāvāpythivī dhāsatho bṛhát*

³⁶ Absence of constriction, Avestan *anazah-*, *xvāθra-* “good breathing space” (or: “freedom to move about”).

*yénābhí kṛṣṭis tatánāma viśváhā
panáyyam ójo asmé sám invatam*

You two great ones, whose praises we have sung, O
sky and earth, give us great fame and exalted power
by which we can stretch out to (all) the lands for all
days. Send us quickly enormous might.

One purpose of the Old Iranian sacrifice is the (re)fertilization and rebirth of the cosmos (the new *ahu*, the cosmic fetus about to be born or just born, the new Life), through the sexual union of Ahura/Heaven and Ārmaiti/ the earth.³⁷ From such a point of view, it is quite possible that the sacrificer, once he has proved himself and become like Ahura Mazdā, also enters into the same kind of relationship with his Ārmaiti, that is, his humility as well as the ritual ground. As the *nā spənta*, the “life-giving man,” he is also filled with the juices of life and fertility, and his rigid posture in the race (see Skjærvø forthcoming) may well refer to (symbolize) the erect male member.

In the Pahlavi literature the importance of the sexual union between Ahura Mazdā and his daughter Ārmaiti is set in the greater context of three fundamental incestuous unions: Ohrmazd and Spandārmad, from whom was born Gayōmard, whose sperm fertilized the earth; Gayōmard with Spandārmad, his mother, from whom were born Maši and Mašyāni, the first human couple, brother and sister, from whom humanity descends.³⁸ It is impossible, I think, to overlook its importance in the Old Avesta, as well.

³⁷ On marriages between gods, see Frazer 1996: 164–69, notably “the sky-god Zeus with the corn-goddess Demeter” (p. 165).

³⁸ Molé 1963: 123; Herrenschmidt 1994: 120–24. In *Dēnkard* 9.38.5–6, Wahman, too, is said to result from the union of Ohrmazd with his daughter Spandārmad; see Molé 1969: 329–30; Skjærvø forthcoming.

REFERENCES

Anklesaria, Behramgore Tehmuras. 1956. *Zand-ākāsih. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*. Bombay: F. A. Bode.

Benveniste, Émile. 1969. *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. 2 vols. Paris: Minuit.

Boyce, Mary. 1975. *A History of Zoroastrianism*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, sec. 1, vol. 8: Religion 1.2.2A. Vol. I. *The Early Period*. Leiden: Brill.

Brereton, Joel Peter. 1981. *The Rgvedic Ādityas*. American Oriental Series, vol. 63. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Bundahišn, see Anklesaria 1956.

Duchesne-Guillemin, Jacques. 1962. *La religion de l'Iran ancien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Ford, Andrew. 1992. *Homer. The Poetry of the Past*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press.

Frazer, James George. 1996. *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*. 1 vol., abr. ed. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Gershevitch, Ilya. 1961. *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: B. Blackwell.

Grønvik, Ottar. 1981. *Runene på Tunesteinen. Alfabet, språkform, budskap*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Herrenschmidt, Clarisse. 1991. Vieux-perse *śiyāti-*. In *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide. Actes du Colloque de Liège, 11 décembre 1987*, ed. Jean Kellens. Iranica Antiqua, supp. 5. Pp. 13–21. Gent: Iranica Antiqua.

_____. 1994. Le xvētôdas ou mariage «incestueux» en Iran ancien. In *Épouser au plus proche. Inceste, prohibitions et stratégies matrimoniales autour de la Méditerranée*. Pp. 113–25. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

Humbach, Helmut. 1959. *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, 2 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

_____. 1991. *The Gāthās of Zarathustra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*. 2 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Insler, Stanley. 1975. *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*. Acta Iranica, vol. 8. Tehran and Liège: Brill.

Jackson, Abraham Valentine Williams. 1932. *Researches in Manichaeism with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments*. Columbia Univ. Indo-Iranian series, vol. 13. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Keith, Arthur Berriedale. 1925. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. 2 vols. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31–32. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford Univ. Press (rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1989).

Kellens, Jean. 1989. Ahura Mazdā n'est pas un dieu créateur. In *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, ed. Charles-Henri de Fouchécourt and Philippe Gignoux. Stu-

dia Iranica cahier 7. Pp. 217–28. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes.

_____. 1991. *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien. Quatre leçons au Collège de France*. Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, vol. 14. Paris: Peeters.

_____. 1994. *Le panthéon de l'Avesta*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

_____. 1995. Qui est Gōuš Tašan. In *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. Bert G. Fragner et al. Pp. 347–57. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Kellens-Pirart I–III = Kellens, Jean, and Eric Pirart. *Les textes vieil-avestiques*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998, 1990, 1991.

Kuiper, F. B. J. 1960. The Ancient Aryan Verbal Contest. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 4: 217–81.

Levenson, Jon D. 1988. *Creation and the Persistence of Evil. The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.

Lüders, Heinrich. 1951. *Varuṇa*, posthumously ed. and publ. by Ludwig Alsdorf. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Mayrhofer, Manfred. *EWA = Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1986–.

Molé, Marijan. 1963. *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Nagy, Gregory. 1990. *Greek Mythology and Poetics*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press.

Narten, Johanna. 1986. *Der Yasna Haptanhāiti*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Nyberg, Henrik Samuel. 1937. *Irans forntidiga religioner*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag.

Pahlavi Rivāyat, see Williams 1990.

Renou, Louis. *ÉVP = Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, 17 vols. Paris: De Boccard, 1955–69. (2nd ed., 1980–.)

Schlerath, Bernfried. 1968. Altindisch *asu-*, awestisch *ahu-* und ähnlich klingende Wörter. In *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to F. B. J. Kuiper*, ed. J. C. Heesterman et al. Pp. 142–53. The Hague: Mouton.

Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1967. *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Skjærø, Prods Oktor. 1997. The State of Old-Avestan Scholarship. *JAOS* 117: 103–14.

_____. 1998. Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions I. *Siyāvaš and Kunāla*. In *Mīr Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert, and Lisi Oliver. Pp. 645–58. Innsbr. Beitr. z.Sprachwiss, vol. 92.

Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

_____. 1999. Avestan Quotations in Old Persian? In *Iran-Judaica IV*, ed. Shaul Shaked and Amnon Netzer. Pp. 1–64. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute.

_____. 2002a. Zarathustra: First Poet-Sacrificer. In *Paitīmāna. Essays in Iranian, Indian, and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt*, vol. 2. Pp. 1–47.

_____. 2002b. Praise and Blame in the Avesta. The Poet-Sacrificer and His Duties. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26 (Studies in Honor of Shaul Shaked).

_____. 2003. Truth and Deception in Ancient Iran. In *The Fire Within: Jamshid Soroushian Commemorative Volume*, ed. F. Vajifdar and C. Cereti, Tehran: Sorya Publisher.

_____. Forthcoming. *Weaving a World of Thought: The Myth of the fravashis and the Old Iranian Ritual*. Paris.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre. 1996. *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs: Études de psychologie historique*. Paris: La Découverte/Poche.

Watkins, Calvert. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Williams, Allan V. 1990. *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān i Dēnig*. 2 vols. Det Kongelig Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, vol. 60: 1–2. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.